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There is also in some tribes a brief seclusion preparatory to initiation. But the essential features may all be gathered under the above five headings. A full treatment of them is reserved to Chapter XII.

It is normally after initiation that the youth proceeds to marriage, and thereafter he follows the even tenor of his way to old age. There are no striking social changes after marriage. In the normal instance the father lives in his village and brings up a family and grows old working. If he be a man of character his influence will probably increase with his years; and whether this be so or not, he is reasonably assured—by a pleasing trait of primitive life—of the respect and consideration of his juniors.

The Constitution of the Clan

Having dealt with the immediate family and given an epitome of the social progress of the individual, I may proceed to the constitution of the clan.

Although the clan is a fairly well-defined group, it is difficult to find a satisfactory native name for it in the abstract. Among the Aiga the nearest approach seems to be the expression *embo-javo*, lit. 'man-name'; but this might stand in another context for the man's personal name. Among the Binandele there is a more definite term *oro-be*, 'the true *oro*' (the usual meaning of *oro* is men's house). In the Sangara dialect a word *araba* stands for either a village clearing or a clan. In the absence of a suitable native name I shall continue to use the word 'clan'.

The Formation of New Clans. The Orokaiva clan is patriarchal in constitution; it develops directly from the family in which the father is undisputed master. The clans vary greatly in size, but for the most part they are small; one of a dozen families might represent the average.

Consequently they are very numerous, and, as each and every one shows a tendency to split, they are not decreasing in number. Indeed, at the present time, when pacification has made it less essential to cling together for protection, it is possible there are more clans than ever before.

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614 As the multiplying family merges into the clan it is not always easy to set a limit or a definition. But when the descendants of one man come to be known regularly by a distinctive name, it may be said that they constitute a new clan.

614 621 In some instances the clan is quite or nearly coincident with the village, i.e. the village is populated solely by one clan, and the clan is limited to that one village. Such a case is probably an elementary one, and the clan of comparatively recent origin. I will suggest a reason for this state of affairs and for the origin of the clans in general. There is an evident tendency for small family units to split off from the main body and form independent settlements. The reason is sometimes a quarrel and the fear of retaliatory magic, but more often, I believe, it is simply the lax method of horticulture which necessitates the clearing of many areas in succession and sometimes a temporary settlement on a distant site. This distant site is planted with coco-nut and betel, and, when subsequently the garden is again made on or about the same spot, it becomes the temporary home of a small settlement. But now one or two men may establish themselves here permanently with their families. So long as they retain their original clan name the settlement can only be regarded as an offshoot; but when they wax in numbers and begin to be known by a separate name, they become *ipso facto* a separate clan.

This process goes on continually. It means that originally the clan occupies a single village (a fact which is hinted at by the dual meaning of *araba*). In the hamlet of Borugata, for example, there are three houses and a combined yam-house and shelter. The head of the village is one Pipire, a man of middle age, who has three wives and thirteen children (an unusually large quiverful for an Orokaiva). The wife and son of his deceased brother are the only other occupants of the village. This small village of Borugata is an offshoot from another, Tandeti, inhabited by the clan Anjaha. As yet Pipire and his children retain the clan name of Anjaha; but it will be seen that we have the makings of a new clan, and it is only necessary for this small and essen-

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tially patriarchal group to receive a distinctive name for it 621 to become a separate clan.

While in origin the clan and the village are co-extensive, this state of affairs is by no means always maintained. War, dispersal, and migration have scattered some clans and drawn others together; so that now on the one hand we may find representatives of one clan in a number of villages, and on the other a single village comprising several clans. In the latter place it is found that the several clans occupy more or less distinct locations.

The Origin of Clan Names. It has been said that the essential feature which gives identity to a clan is a distinctive 614 name. Beyond this it has a further mark of identity in the 551 shape of a specific plant-emblem, called *heratu*. The *heratu* will be the subject of another chapter. I may here continue to discuss the first of these essential features, viz. the name, and account for its origin.

It is by no means unusual for a man to identify himself by the name of his parent or ancestor as well as by his own. An interesting example of this is seen in the cries of triumph uttered by the warrior or the hunter. As he drives his spear into the victim or the pig he shouts, not his own name, but some such expression as *Embogetabije!* (*Abije*, or descendant of Emboge); *Hositamei!* (lit. 'Son of Hosi', though in the case in point Hosi is the paternal grandfather); or *Kaiepa-ta-bijari!* (begotten of Kaiepa).[1] A woman making a big haul of fish might be elated enough to cry *Handau-ta-du!* (sister of Handau, who is the 'big man' of her clan). In other cases the successful hunter cries out his clan name, e.g. *Jagasitabije!*, or *Sarahu-ta-bijari!*, in which Jagasi and Sarahu are the names of the clans rather than of any definite or well-remembered person.

Again all the underlings of any 'big man' will be known 614 to others under his name. In the Sangara dialect there is a 551 word *tekaboka*, of which I do not know the literal meaning, 554 but which appears to stand for a 'following'. When, at a gathering of the clans for war, or for some peaceful cere-

[1] In some cases it appears that the man cries the name of his maternal relative, either grandfather or uncle.

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mony, the several parties make their appearance each following in single file behind its leader, a cry will go up, 'Here come the people, the *Tekaboka*, of Embuja, of Ehari, of Andari!'—whoever the big man may be. So in the Aiga language there is a word *ambotani*, which embraces all a man's junior relatives; and thus a number of more or less unimportant individuals may be known to others as the juniors of a certain big man and identified by his name.

There is no well-defined chieftainship among the Orokaiva, but merely a recognized ascendancy of the old men. The leader and ruler of any clan is the eldest of its men, provided he is not so old as to be incompetent, and provided always that his personality is equal to his position. It is consequently difficult to find a word which would correspond with our idea of 'chief', and unsatisfactory to use the English word 'chief', as too pretentious for even the most important of clan leaders. The Orokaiva expressions as far as I know them are *embo-be* (a proper man), and *embo-peni*, *embo-pajirari*, *embo-paitukiari*, and *embo-siakabada* (all of which mean no more than 'big or important man'); and these terms may be used of men of importance who cannot claim to be actually leaders. There are two other terms, however, which seem to possess a more specific application: they are *embo-javoari* and *embo-penjavo*. The first appears to mean 'the man who gives the name' (*javo*), and the second is no doubt a contraction of *embo-peni-javo* (man—big—name). The implication is that the real chief is the man who gives his name to his followers, i.e. the man by whose name they are collectively known.

It is readily understood how in this simple patriarchal organization the group may take its collective name from the leader or patriarch. Further, one may be surprised on asking who is the *embo-javoari* of a certain group, to be given the name of a man who is dead. Chieftainship among the Orokaiva is so rudimentary that a successor may not yet, so to speak, have taken shape. But that does not matter. The group is content to be known as the followers of the dead man.

All this leads to the conclusion (if it be not too obvious

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to require proof) that the clan name is naturally derived from that of the clan's founder or ancestor.

There are many cases in which this is known to be the case because the eponymous ancestor of the clan is remembered in tradition. An instance is provided by the clans Serugahije and Samanahu: their founders were Seruga and Samana, concerning whom there exist more or less trustworthy accounts. (It was also said that Samana was originally a Serugahije man, so that the Samanahu is an offshoot of the Serugahije clan.)

I do not wish to suggest that this is the invariable rule. Indeed one could cite a number of contrary instances in which the clan has derived its name from a locality which it occupies or formerly occupied, e.g. Poitahu from the creek Poita; Sonami (a branch of the Eugahu clan, so called because it settled on the creek Sonami); Autembo, a branch of the Sekihu who fled and settled in the bush (*aute*).

But in the majority of cases it seems that the clan name is that of an ancestor. To illustrate the tendency for a group of people (in this case a village) to take its name from its leader I may quote the experience of a magistrate on the Gira.

'In the Government map of the Gira River . . .,' he says, 'when endeavouring to identify the villages marked thereon, I was struck by the fact that only two or three seemed to be known, the names of the others merely causing polite amusement. For some time I could not explain this, as the map was only made eleven years ago. Then it occurred to me that natives often give the name of the head man when asked for the name of their village. So I asked if there had ever been big fighting chiefs named Wore, Gubabai, &c. This instantly solved the enigma and I was able to identify nearly every village. . . .'[1]

Just as the village names itself after the leader, so also may the clan, which in the elementary stage coincides with the village. The name may be more or less temporary; for any offshoot will have no difficulty in finding a new and distinctive name, viz. that of its leader. But when this becomes well established and remains after the death of its actual owner, then we see in his followers and descendants the material of a new clan.

[1] H. L. Griffin, quoted in *Annual Report*, 1908–9, p. 22.

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614 *The Clan Spirit.* It remains to say something of the clan spirit. The earlier part of this chapter dealt with the immediate family which was described as in large measure self-supporting and in its internal affairs independent. The family group is a definite social entity within a larger entity, the clan.

614 593 It does not often happen that the two interests, that of the clan and that of the family, come into conflict; but when they do it remains uncertain which takes precedence. It is largely a question of whether a man should place the interests of his wife before those of his kinsmen. Under normal conditions of peace the family of the husband remains on excellent terms with that of the wife, though in earlier days, when marriage by capture was common, the matter was not always so simple. The case in which the captive wife, with the connivance of her husband, warned her people of an impending raid illustrates how the conflict might arise. I may give a definite instance in which a man chose to cleave to his wife rather than his kinsmen. A very old man of Bologasusu named Bearivu was formerly married to a woman of the Aiga people on the right bank of the Kumusi. In an inter-clan fight these people killed some men of Bologasusu. This left Bearivu in a very uncomfortable predicament, for he feared that his clansmen would take an easy revenge by killing his wife, who was of a kin with the raiders. He accordingly migrated and settled with his wife's people on the other bank of the Kumusi. In due course the retaliatory raid was made, and Bearivu fought against his own clan in defence of his wife's. When the woman died Bearivu changed his coat, returned to his clan, and in subsequent encounters fought in turn against the people of his late wife.

But under ordinary circumstances we do not find the husband's people at variance with those of his wife, as if he should be pulled in different directions. When he takes a wife she is economically absorbed into his clan, and her life in all important respects belongs to that clan; and he by certain elaborate precautions, of which name-tabus are an instance, takes care to remain on good terms with his rela-

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tives by marriage. Save for any untoward happening, therefore, the life of the family will fit into that of the clan.

It is only necessary to stress the point that the immediate family is recognized as a social unit; and the mere fact that a man sometimes quarrels with the members of his clan and migrates with his family or settles somewhere apart, proves that the family interest may compete with that of the clan. Both units are co-operative, the family especially in respect of the food quest, the clan in respect of ceremonies and feasts, and more importantly of fighting. The clan owns the garden land, but the family cultivates its own patch and reaps its own harvest. On the whole, since the clan displays a constant tendency to split into smaller groups of which the family is the nucleus, it is difficult to draw a line between the two. Yet for the same reason we may be right in saying that the family, as the indivisible unit, exerts the stronger hold.

Whatever the difficulty of deciding between these two, however, there can be no doubt that both of them, family and clan, mean more to the individual than does the tribe or the somewhat loose confederacy of clans within the tribe. A man's strongest sympathies certainly lie within the limits of the clan. Quarrels between families, i.e. within the clan, are inevitable, but they are easily adjusted. Not so the quarrels between clans themselves—land disputes and the like—which are prosecuted with great bitterness. Indeed, as sorcery cases show, it is almost invariably the stranger beyond the pale of the clan who is suspected. Any one within the clan is presumably a friend; any one without it is a potential enemy.

There is another kind of group-spirit with which the clan may have to contend, viz. that of locality. Once more the two are not frequently opposed. Often the village is occupied wholly by one clan, and in such a case the conflict could not arise. But when representatives of one clan (A) live in the village of another clan (B) (although the *modus vivendi* is usually satisfactory), there may arise the situation in which the clan (A) as a whole falls out with the clan (B). Witnesses have commonly assured me that a man would stand by his

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clan rather than his village in such a crisis, and this is no doubt usually the case, though I have two definite instances in which the individuals fought on the side of their adopted villages against their own clans.

It is interesting to note that immigrants from other clans into a village (e.g. those who for any reason become domiciled among their wife's or their mother's people) are not always readily assimilated. In one case that came to my notice a man of about thirty years, who had lived in a certain village since going there as an orphan child with his mother, fell out with his neighbours over a question of fishing rights, and was so cold-shouldered that he had to change his place of residence again.

It has been shown that the Orokaiva clan is usually a small unit, that it is often of comparatively recent origin, and that it often bears definitely the name of a founder and ancestor. From these facts it will be seen that its limits may hardly surpass those of kindred. There are many cases, those of scattered clans, where the kindred connexion is virtually lost sight of, but typically the clansmen may be said to be united by feelings of actual kinship. Where this is so, such feelings may be expected to prevail over any opposition from the locality spirit. However, as I have said, such a conflict seldom arises. To sum up, it may be repeated that the Orokaiva's strongest sympathies are limited to his own small clan and to his family within the clan.

Relationship Terms

The following is a list of the principal relationship terms. The speaker is a married man. The word for husband is *ivu*. This together with *ai* (wife), *mei* (son), and *iai* (daughter), is used in periphrasis when there are no set relationship terms, e.g. *tata-ivu*, *betere-ta-ai*, *simbo-ta-mei*.

mama father, father's brother, all males of the father's clan and generation; elders in general.

aja mother, mother's sisters, all females of the mother's clan and generation; elder women in general.

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VIII

THE PLANT EMBLEM

The Nature of the Heratu

614 778 192 THE clan has a distinctive emblem or associate. Among the Aiga tribe (of whom my information is the fullest) this is called the *heratu*, and throughout the remainder of this chapter the word *heratu* will be used as the equivalent of plant-emblem. *Kenatu* is the form in the Binandele and Tain-Daware languages; in Wasida a different word, *bae*, is used; and, throughout the whole Orokaiva people, alternative names are *evobo* and *abije*, or some nearly equivalent forms.

614 778 It may safely be said that every clan has a *heratu*, and almost invariably it is some plant or tree. The Orokaiva are mostly forest people. In the tropical bush there is infinite variety, and (what makes the bush so difficult for the timber-getter and so easy for the native) this variety is for ever repeating itself. Give a native a moment and he will look about him and pluck you his *heratu*. The botanical names are of no consequence—fortunately so, as I cannot give them. There are large forest trees such as *Boruga* and *Siruga*, the 'canoe tree'; creepers and bushes; grasses and weeds. Sometimes they have an economic value; commonly they have none whatever. It is certain that they are not selected as *heratu* because of any use they may have. They are seen most frequently in the form of a twig or an unpretentious handful of grass.

Since the *heratu* is in so great a majority of cases a vegetable species, the phrase 'plant emblem' seems to be justified. There are, however, some interesting variants, including a number of bird associates and certain simple emblematic devices. Though I describe these somewhat in detail it must not be forgotten that they are relatively speaking a very small category, and that the *heratu* is normally a plant or tree.

In the Wasida tribe I came across three bird associates,

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Kombu, a certain black bird whose name '*Kombu*' is meant to reproduce its cry; *Hiviki*, the hawk; and *Hororo*, a small ground forager. These were all subsidiary emblems, and the clans to which they belonged had *beratu* of the ordinary botanic kind. Further, they were not, as far as I know, used for the regular purpose of the *beratu*, viz. as a badge or token of identity. However, among the Binandele there was the *Diriu*, or common blue pigeon, of the Diriu clan; and among the Tain-Daware the *Bangai*, or eagle hawk of the Bangai-unji; and it was claimed that the feathers of both these birds were used as identity marks. The blue pigeon (with a slight dialectal change of name) is again *beratu* of the Dirou about the Hydrographer foot-hills, but I have no very trustworthy note in this instance. Among several score of *beratu* I have lighted upon only these six instances of birds, so that they may be considered very rare.

A few examples may be given of the semi-mechanical devices which sometimes serve as *beratu*. Among the Aiga the Honia-Noduru clan use a split stick—not a particular stick, but simply any small branch torn from a tree by the track and split half-way down its length. The Samberota clan has for its *beratu* a *sambi*, i.e. a green stick flattened or squashed at the end as a wooden peg is splayed out by hammering. The Simborota, besides their plant emblem *Simboro*, have a habit of stamping their heel (*atu*) into the soft ground to leave the print of it as their mark. Among the Binandele we find *topo*, any broad leaf rolled into a spiral with the same quick turn of the hands which we see behind the grocer's counter; and *pono*, a foot or so of creeper fashioned into two tangent circles in imitation of the ornament *pono*, which consists of two circular pig tusks. The Umbengi clan of the Tain-Daware have for their *beratu umu-bengi*, literally 'water clod', i.e. the clod of earth continually dislodged by the stream from the river bank.

Further instances of this nature could be given. It will be seen that all these, like the usual plant *beratu*, have this much in common, that they may be extemporized in a moment. A native cannot lay hold of a bird or an animal whenever he wants it; consequently birds are rarely adopted

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as *heratu*, and animals or fish, so far as my investigations go, never.

It is common, almost regular, for the clan to have one or more alternative *heratu*. For this there are several explanations which may be regarded as concurrent. In the first place it is well to have an alternative or emergency *heratu*. If the tree *Tuvira* is not handy, then *Ebe jakara*, a grass stalk, will do; or failing that again *Komusu*, a leaf of any kind made into a scroll; and by one or the other of these you may know that a Serugahije man has passed.

Secondly, there is a sort of hierarchy of *heratu*. As was said before, the clan is continually subdividing. The subclan or incipient clan, even the individual, may adopt an independent *heratu*, but, still belonging to the parent body, continue for a time at least to use the parent *heratu*. Thus two branches of the clan Simborota, while retaining their original *heratu*, the river-grass *Simboro*, have each their distinctive mark, one the tree *Ominga*, and one *atu*, the imprint of a heel.

Thirdly, a man uses both the paternal and the maternal *heratu*. As I have previously mentioned, the *heratu* proper is the former, and the contrary instances which do occur are exceptional. The *heratu* of the father is passed on by inheritance, whereas that of the mother is not normally handed down beyond the generation of her offspring. However, so close is the intimacy between the two branches of the united family, that the son or daughter may be as familiar with the mother's *heratu* as with the father's. Within the clan, indeed, it is the distinctive mark of the household, and a man may often employ his father's and his mother's emblems simultaneously so as to make his identity the clearer. Further, as it is customary for a man to spend some of his time in his wife's village, it follows that the son must spend some of his time in his mother's village, and while there he may use his mother's *heratu* in preference to his father's, which would be less familiar among the surrounding villages and clans.

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Uses of the Heratu

(*a*) *As an Identity Token.* So far I have not mentioned the uses of the plant emblem. If one asks a native what he actually does with his *heratu*, he will assuredly answer: 'I place it on the track so that others who may follow may know I have passed that way.' This, indeed, though not the only use for the *heratu*, is the commonest. At the juncture of two paths I have come upon eight different kinds of leaves or grass, placed there during the morning and as yet scarcely wilted. My boys, who were inhabitants of the district, were able to identify each clan by its *heratu*; the owners of them had passed this spot at intervals, all bound for one village as guests to a feast and dance. The stem of the leaf, the root of the grass, or the butt of the branch, should point in the direction which its owner has taken, but apparently this rule is not observed with strictness.

There is another use similar in principle. When a hungry man sees a ripe bunch of bananas in the garden of his friend he will not hesitate to help himself. It is to be feared that he would not hesitate over long if he met the same temptation in the garden of a stranger. In the first instance, however, he will eat his fill of the bananas, or whatever it may be, and leave his *heratu*. When the owner comes to his garden and sees this, he will be satisfied, for no native grudges food to his friend.

I have had occasion myself to use this simple expedient. Finding a village where we meant to lunch deserted for the time, we steal a bunch of bananas, cook them, and go on our way with invigorated and cheerful carriers. To account for this act of pillage we need only leave a stick or two of tobacco by the remains of the banana bunch, tied to a sprig of croton, which happens to be the *heratu* of a rather distinguished old native who is with me. We may then feel that we have not only made payment but given the fullest possible account of our behaviour.

In these two uses the *heratu* is an identity token, having a sort of evidential value in proving presence or agency, like a national flag left planted on the North Pole, or a visiting

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614 778 202 card slipped under the front door. It may be remarked that the *heratu* is never worn or carried by a man simply as a badge. It is an identity mark *in absentia*.

(*b*) *As a Mark of Individual Abstinence*. The next use for 614 778 201 577 the *heratu* is a somewhat singular one. It is used by individuals as a sign of abstinence, a sort of self-inflicted tabu, whenever such abstinence has been the outcome of some quarrel or grievance. The Orokaiva is very prone when his feelings are hurt to punish himself rather than the man who has hurt them; or, perhaps better, to take revenge upon the other party by punishing himself.

Thus, if a man fall out with his wife, he will thrust a sprig of his *heratu* through his armlet, and while he continues to wear it will receive no food of her cooking. Not that he altogether starves himself into relenting; some friend will cook for him until his mood softens, and then there are interchanges of gifts between the wife's people and his own, and, as I am assured, invariable reconciliation. Similarly a wife who has been accused by her husband of sponging on him, not working for her keep, will advertise her grief and indignation by wearing her *heratu*, and will for the time being refuse to eat another taro out of his garden.

A bunch of drooping leaves may be seen tied to a coconut palm in the village. The owner has fallen out with his neighbour over the boundary of his garden. The row of tree-trunks which constitutes the usual garden border has been displaced and shows an encroaching and unwarrantable bulge. Therefore he has set up his *heratu* to indicate that he has been imposed upon, and has broken off friendly relations with his neighbour; he will accept no hospitality from him (and give none) until the matter has been adjusted. Another man nurses some resentment against a near-by village. If he were bidden to a feast there he would go, but with his *heratu* in his armlet; and when the wooden dish of savoury taro was placed before him, he would wave it aside, or lay his *heratu* upon the food to show that he could not accept the hospitality of those who had wronged him. Then the offender would be put to shame and punished, and be sorry for what he had done.

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(c) *As the Naterari or Village Tabu Post.* The *heratu* appears again in its most interesting character as the village tabu post. In many parts of the Territory it is the custom long before a feast to set up some tangible sign of tabu upon the coco-nuts. Among the Orokaiva this sign commonly takes the form of a wooden post or pillar, roughly carved and painted, and this post should properly speaking be of that particular wood which the clan owns for its *heratu.* This, however, cannot be a universal rule, because the *heratu* is often a grass or some small plant; but it may be said that when the *heratu* is a tree the tabu post is a stump of that tree. (In the other cases it may be a post of some alternative wood, or—a frequent substitute—one or two wands of the very light timber called *pamba* tied horizontally to a palm.)

Among the Aiga such a post is called *naterari*, and this word will be used as an alternative for tabu post. The *naterari* will be described more fully in Chapter XIII, but I may here anticipate one or two points in that description because they throw some light on the nature of the *heratu.*

In the first place the feast for which the *naterari* is set up is a mortuary feast; it is in honour of, or placation of, certain departed spirits. Further, offerings are made to it as if to the departed spirits; it is hung about with mementos of the dead; the feast is laid out before it, and it is called upon to witness the food; it is treated and disposed of with something like reverence; lastly, it often bears a faint and sometimes a decided anthropomorphic character. These various points show that the *naterari* is closely associated with the dead man, and they do much to justify the suggestion that the wooden pillar actually represents the dead, or even that it stood originally as a crude model.

The Heratu as Ancestor

Having described the uses of the *heratu* I may now endeavour to explain them. The fact of first importance is that the *heratu* of the clan is constantly referred to as 'our ancestor'. The words used are *evobo* and *ahije*; the former (which in this connexion is the usual one) seems always to

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614 778 have the extra connotation of 'ancient'; the latter may mean either literally 'grandfather', or else an ancestor more remote. It is always difficult to determine the proper limits of native categories. *Heratu*, which I have used as synonymous with plant-emblem, would seem with some informants to have a rather more limited application, i.e. it refers to the plant emblem especially *qua* mark of identity; whereas *evobo* is rather a more comprehensive term, covering not only the special plant-emblem ancestor, but the whole march-past of forefathers. However, the plant-emblem is called an [164] ancestor; and when a man is dead and lies awaiting burial, the women may be heard crying to him as the offspring of his *heratu*—'*Asava-jai, Hombiga-jai!*' i.e. 'Child of Asava, child of Hombiga!' the word *jai* being used in everyday speech as we might use the word 'piccaninny'.

614 778 551 Now I have on a number of occasions asked the native what he means by calling the plant emblem his ancestor. Sometimes he cannot give an answer, but very commonly he can, and then it is always the same: 'Our real ancestor', he says, 'was a human being, not a tree; *it was a man with a tree name*.' For once, I believe, our native has given the really true explanation. I will proceed with the evidence for this hypothesis, viz. that the normal *heratu* is a species of plant representing a human ancestor of the same name.

There are certain reasonably authentic incidents in which a human namesake, or rather original, of the *heratu* is well remembered. Thus there is a Binandele clan named Yegaboda whose *heratu* is *watora* the reed. During their latter migrations these people hid from their enemies among the reeds, and here a baby was born to whom was given, in a very characteristic fashion, the name Watora. In due time this child became the chief man of his clan, which adopted *watora*, or the reed, as its *heratu*. So again we find two widely separated branches of the clan Samanahu, one among the Aiga, the other, an emigrant section, among the Binandele. The Aiga section, still retaining their name of Samanahu, have now the alternative *heratu*, *asava* and *hombiga*, evidently acquired subsequently; while the Binandele branch has kept its original *heratu*, the tree *samana*. Both sections, however,

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told the same tale of Samana. He was their common ancestor—not a tree of course, they affirmed, but a man, and one who, as it chanced, acquired his name from the fact that he was brought to birth under a *samana* tree.

(It happens that in each of these two cases the ancestor has acquired his tree name in much the same way; and in fact this habit of naming a child from some odd circumstances attending its birth is very common; instance the names Abiga, 'Ashes', and Ijita, 'The Sun', given for precisely similar reasons. But whatever the origin of the tree names for human beings, I shall presently have to stress the fact of their extraordinary frequency among the Orokaiva.)

To give further instances, a man of the Aiga clan Johari, whose *heratu* is *saga*, declares that Saga was a man of flesh and bone, and gives with confidence a genealogy in which he proves to be his great-grandfather. Another, an old man with *heratu okomba*, says that he remembers seeing in his boyhood the real Okomba. In a certain village on the Kumusi the *heratu* is *juara*, a creeper. This will not make a suitable tabu post, so the chief, one Euga, cut out a post from the *euga* tree; and on another occasion used the tree *bananya*, because a paternal ancestor had borne that name.

Of individual *heratu* I shall have more to say presently; but an instance may be given here to show how the individual *heratu* also represents the human being with the tree name. The Pure clan on the Mambare has for its *heratu* the plant *pura*; but two individual clansmen possess *heratu* of their own, one the tree *goru*, from his paternal grandfather of the same name, and the other a pair of alternatives, *simbiri* (the croton), his mother's name, and *eua* (a kind of bread-fruit?), his father's name. Instances could be multiplied. From constant questioning I have come to form the opinion that in the very great majority of cases the *heratu* has been adopted in this manner, viz. as a tangible emblem of the synonymous ancestor.

I have four cases in which a contrary explanation was offered. A fugitive section of the Serugahije clan, making its way northward toward the river Mambare, settled for some time in a place of abundant sago, and thereafter aban-

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doned the original *heratu tuvira*, and adopted *ambe*, or sago. A clan of the Tain-Daware named Giriri had for its original ancestor one Bono. But they were constantly using a certain hardwood called *giriri* for building, and consequently took this for their *heratu* and clan name. The Gonini clan of the Tain-Daware have for their *heratu gonini*, and occupy four villages. In one of these, Sivariri, there is growing a large tree of the same name, and its inhabitants have taken this species (*sivariri*) for their *heratu*. The fourth instance is that of the Binandele clan Diriu. These people, who long ago lived on the Kumusi, were fishing in a small creek when the body of a blue pigeon (*diriu*) came floating down. They accordingly named the creek Diriu, and, it would appear, adopted the name for themselves and their *heratu*. Though the clan was long ago driven out by the Aiga, this same creek and the adjacent village are still known as Diriu, a circumstance which gives a colour of truth to the legend.

These four cases, however, are not typical. The usual explanation is the one I have given above. In many cases, of course, no explanation whatever was offered; yet it came as a rather pleasant surprise to the investigator that the natives should suggest as often as they did the same plausible origin for one of their customs. After some acquaintance with the Orokaiva, one may safely say that, although of a highly imaginative nature, he is not such a fool as really to believe himself descended from a tree.

Identity of Clan, Heratu, and Ancestor

We have now, therefore, reached this proposition: the *heratu* is both tree and ancestor, and it is so by virtue of the circumstance that the name of the tree and the name of the ancestor were identical.

Now I have already shown (Chapter VII, pp. 103 ff.) that groups of men tend to take their collective names from the individual names of their leaders, and that the clan name is frequently that of its original leader or founder. There is no need to elaborate that theme, but I may draw attention to the facts (1) that clan names are very commonly tree names, and (2) that very commonly the clan name and that

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of the *heratu* are identical, or the former incorporates the latter.

To illustrate these two points I give a list—fairly complete—of the clans of the Aiga tribe. The terminations of the clan names require a note. *Abije* means 'descendant'; *ubu* means literally and somewhat picturesquely 'the trunk of a tree', much as we should say 'stock'; *embo* means 'man'; *aba* may mean 'mother', as it does in one Orokaiva dialect (Hunjara), though not in that of the Aiga; *-ta* is simply an associative or possessive suffix.

(1) There is first a class of local names which more or less explain themselves.

Clan Name.	*Meaning.*	*Heratu.*
Angerihani	(*angeri* means 'beyond, over yonder'; *hani* may mean 'friends, comrades', or possibly 'tree branch'.)	*Isuga, Soribo.*
Angeriuhu	. . . . .	*Potana, Hamana.*
Autembo	(*aute* means the 'bush, forest'.)	*Saga.*
Poita-uhu	(Poita, the name of a certain creek.)	*Boruga.*[1]
Seva-uhu	(*sevabi*, the 'bush'.)	*Siruga, Seki*, and *Tanderi.*
Tiri-Humusi	(*tiri*, 'hills'; Humusi, the river Kumusi.)	*Hambora, Garava.*

(2) There is one solitary bird name of which I can give no explanation.

Jega-Karenga (*Jega*?; *Karenga*, parrot) . .	?

(3) There is thirdly a miscellaneous class of names of which I have no explanation, but will put down only for the sake of making the list complete. These may be nicknames, ancestral names, or tree names.

Clan Name.	*Heratu.*
Aiahije	*Hore.*
Ata	?
Evija	*Isuga.*
Horipahije . . .	*Onge.*
Jarutuhu	*Embura, Kitikukumi, Ebe.*
Johari	*Saga.*
Koariahije . . .	*Tanderi.*
Komahije . . .	*Tutengi.*
Ngiriahije . . .	*Boruga.*[1]

[1] The same *heratu* may belong to apparently unrelated clans.

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(4) Lastly there is a long list in which the clan name is that of a tree or plant.

Clan Name.	*Heratu.*
Ango-uhu	?
Aseahije	*Pogera, Ase.*
Borugaha	*Boruga.*[1]
Bove	*Simbiri.*
Eugahu	*Euga?*
Honia-Noduru	? (a split stick).
Hojavahije	*Hojava.*
Isugahije	*Isuga.*
Jautiahije	*Jauti.*
Jega-Juaraha	*Juara.*
Koropahije	*Tutengi, Tambara.*
Ongoahije	*Ongo.*
Paingoahije	*Paingo.*
Samanahu	*Asava, Hombiga.*
Samberota	*Sambi* (a squashed stick).
Sauhu	*Sahu.*
Seheo-Buje	*Buje.*
Sekihu	*Seki.*
Serugahije	*Tuvira, Ebe-jakara, Komusu.*
Simborota	*Simboro, Ominga, Atu, Boruga.*[1]
Soriahije	*Soribo.*

If we exclude the third category, of which I have obtained no explanation, it will be seen that the last category contains the majority of the remaining names. And it will be seen also that in fifteen cases out of twenty-one, the clan's name, besides being that of a tree or plant, is that of the particular plant which is its emblem or *heratu*. In the typical instance, I believe, the names of clan and *heratu* correspond. And when we remember that the clan takes its name from its original leader or founder, it will appear that in the typical instance the names of the clan, the *heratu*, and the founder correspond.

On the whole I think the clan and its *heratu* come into being simultaneously and in this manner: an individual secedes from the parent clan and his family grows into an independent clan. This clan comes to be known by its founder's name and adopts for emblem a plant bearing the same name, or one similar to it.

[1] The same *heratu* may belong to apparently unrelated clans.

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The exceptions (i.e. where the clan name and *heratu* do not correspond) may be explained in several ways. (1) A sub-clan may retain the old *heratu* but take a new name. So the Autembo are a fugitive section of the Johari who took to the bush (*aute*) in order to avoid reprisals for a murder. While they are known as Autembo they have kept the original *heratu* of the Johari, viz. *Saga*. (2) A local branch of a clan may keep its original clan name but adopt a distinctive *heratu*. A migrant section of the Simborota still call themselves Simborota, but have assumed *Boruga* as their *heratu*. (3) A clan may discard the old *heratu* and take the synonymous plant of a new leader. Thus a very old man tells me his *heratu* was formerly *Tumena* (a variety of taro), but nowadays it is *Bari*, because his son *Barigi*, an ex-sergeant of Native Police (made famous by C. A. W. Monckton), has taken his place as leader of the clan.

Plant Names for Human Beings

I have mentioned (p. 97) the frequency with which plant names are used for human beings among the Orokaiva. It is time that this statement should be substantiated. In the first place we are dealing with a people of the forest, who depend on its products for countless purposes, and who know its multifarious flora in a way that no European could know it—unless he were a botantist. It need not altogether surprise us, therefore, that they should draw upon this inexhaustible store for their own personal names.

Name-giving customs have been dealt with already (Chapter VII, pp. 96–98). Suffice it to say here that, besides the formal names passed on by god-fathers and god-mothers (*tato*), there are countless nicknames (as we should call them) originating from some chance circumstance of birth or early youth. The formal names appear to be as odd as the others, and have no doubt arisen in the same haphazard manner. Most personal names permit of interpretation, and provided their owners or their owners' parents are present, the interpretation will often recall some homely anecdote of childhood. But, however they may have arisen, plant names form a large proportion of them. In a random list

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(two series of men who submitted themselves for physical measurement) we find such names as Half-cooked, Shell, Lizard, Pus, Cry-baby, to Stretch, to miss with the Spear, Wet, Roasted, and so on. But by far the largest category is that of plant names. In a list of 57 names (13 of which were not interpretable) they added up to 15, i.e. 26 per cent. of the whole, or 34 per cent. of the interpretable names.

The Heratu as Badge

(*a*) *The Use of 'Nearly' Synonymous Heratu.* As only a proportion of men have actual plant names, it is obvious that not every one can have a synonymous *heratu*. There is, however, an important consideration which does much to remove this difficulty. Although a man may not have a plant name, nevertheless some plant with a name *resembling* his will be made to stand for him. The instance of the altered *heratu Bari* (p. 123) is a case in point. *Barigi*, as far as I know, is not the name of a plant; but *bari* is a sufficient approximation, and will do for the *heratu* of Barigi's clan. So we have *pura* as *heratu* for the clan Pure, and *anderi* for the clan Andere. Again for the clan Samberota (named from the plant *Sambero*) we have *sambi*, the flattened stick (vide p. 113).

(We even find a closely related variety of plant made to do service for the proper *heratu*, though it has an entirely different name. Thus the tree *benoma* may be a substitute for *samana* of the Samanahu (Binandele branch); *omba* for *Piri* of Piri-bijari; *pogera* for *ase* (both varieties of Job's Tears) of the Aseahije.)

What with the frequent occurrence of plant names and this convenient possibility of using as *heratu* a plant that is only nearly synonymous, it is almost impossible that any and every Orokaiva should not have his plant emblem.

(*b*) *The Individual Heratu.* This brings us to the individual plant emblem, which has already been touched on here and there. The matter does not require a long consideration, for it will be obvious that the principle of the individual plant emblem will be precisely the same as that of the clan plant emblem; indeed, in all typical cases the latter has apparently come into being as an individual emblem. One

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778 202 Guinea man cannot write his name on paper so he leaves his name behind him in another fashion. I should look about me', he said, 'and find some tree with a name like "Waiwa", break off a branch of it, and leave it by the broken taro tops. Then my friend, the owner of the garden, when he saw that sign, would say "Aha, Waiwa is welcome to my taro".'

721 778 202 In the article referred to elsewhere in this report, viz. 'The Movements of the Tribes of the Mambare Division of Northern Papua' (Chinnery and Beaver), there is an interesting anecdote,[1] still well remembered in the region of which it is told. The Binandele, led by a man Waia, had been raiding on the river Gira, and searching for their real enemies had in error attacked the Yema tribe, killed the chief, and captured a youth Jiani. For this unhappy mistake Waia expresses his sorrow, and desires that Kewatai, the absent son of the chief, be sent on a visit to the Binandele country in order to effect reconciliation and alliance.

'Then Waia said, "My name is Waia; can you remember this name?" Jiani replied, "Yes; we call this tree (pointing to a certain tree called Warawa in Binandele) Waia." The chief then cut off a piece of the bark, and gave it to Jiani for remembrance, and told him to put it in Kewatai's house, and to tell him that he (Waia) was sorry.'

When Kewatai does visit the Binandele country, it is only by remembering the name of Waia that he saves himself from being eaten.

In such uses as these the *heratu* is something more primitive than a pictograph; it is a very material symbol, a sort of vegetable signature.

The Heratu as Totem

614 778 Throughout this chapter I have avoided the word 'totem', using in preference the non-committal, if awkward, phrase 'plant emblem'. I may now review the evidence which might have justified the use of the former term.

(1) The *heratu* is normally connected with a definite social group, viz. the clan (though sometimes with the individual and his immediate family).

[1] *Annual Report*, 1914–15, p. 139.

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(2) The clan is usually exogamous in practice, though by no means strictly so (vide p. 131).

(3) The clan commonly, in the typical case always, takes its name from the *heratu* or, more strictly, is synonymous with the *heratu* (vide p. 122).

(4) The clan uses its *heratu* first and foremost as a badge.

(5) The *heratu* is called an ancestor (though the Orokaiva does not really believe that his ancestor can be plant or tree).

Thus far it would seem the *heratu* has conformed very nearly to the tenets of totemism. It remains to be considered whether the clan possesses any magico-religious sentiment for its *heratu* such as typically unites the group and its totem.

The evidence is here somewhat conflicting. Generally speaking the plant emblem (except as *naterari*) is treated with no semblance of respect or reverence. In clearing the bush a man will fell his *heratu* tree without a thought; if it bear edible fruit like *topu*, the wild fig, he will eat it; if it be, as in one case it is, *ambe* or sago, he will not forswear one of his principal means of subsistence. There is a large clan, the *Umondaba*, one of whose *heratu* is nothing more nor less than 'Water'.

In one or two instances, however, informants have claimed that they will not cut down their own tree; though such are distinctly exceptional. No case has come to light of a useful *heratu* which its owner will not use. With the rare bird *heratu* the case is almost the same. A Diriu man, ex-constable, averred that he had shot many *diriu* (blue pigeon) for his master, and would be only too glad to shoot and eat another if I would lend him a gun. Perhaps at first he was like the other who 'sighed as a member of the cockatoo totem but obeyed as a policeman', but his scruples are long since gone if he ever had any. A man whose subsidiary *heratu* is the bird *Kombu* says that, while he would not hesitate to kill it (if he could get near it), he would still refrain from eating it. It is apparently for reasons of sentiment alone that he would not eat it, for he declares there would be no evil effects upon him if he did (as I believe he might) yield to the temptation.

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614 778 784 On the other hand, however, a man of the Bangai-unji, or 'children of the eagle-hawk', who use one of its speckled feathers for their mark, avers that he would neither kill nor eat the bird; and, further, volunteers that if a *bangai* fledgling, being caught and kept in the village, were to die, it would not be eaten or thrown away, but buried. Lastly, there is one isolated note which may have some significance. The bird *Hororo* (mentioned on p. 113) belongs especially to a certain man Erupa. Should its cry be heard near the village, the people would say, 'Erupa will be successful in the hunt to-day'.

551 606 778 In passing I may mention a point of some interest. Among the Orokaiva there are certain strict rules of etiquette between relatives by marriage (particularly between the man and his parents-in-law), exemplified by a very strict name-avoidance. Now, although a man will cut down his own *heratu* tree without mercy, he will hesitate to do the same with a tree that happens to bear the name of his *atovo* or *imboti*, i.e. his father-in-law or his mother-in-law, and may request one of his companions in the clearing to fell this particular tree for him. Similarly he will not eat any food, animal or vegetable, which happens to be synonymous with either of his parents-in-law. Now this rule is based on sentiment; there are, as far as my knowledge goes, no magico-religious sanctions to it; and where a similar tabu is observed with regard to the *heratu* we may probably assume that this is likewise no more than a sentimental avoidance.

778 The foregoing evidence has been set down for what it is worth. On the whole there would appear to be no very special regard for the *heratu*, though here and there will crop up a strong manifestation of such regard. It may not be surprising that this is relatively more marked in the few cases of birds than in those of the usual botanic *heratu*, because the former, with their more definite personality, are in themselves likelier objects of regard than the latter.

In fine it is of little consequence whether the plant emblem be called a totem or not; it will be obvious that it is very much like one. There is in my own mind little doubt as to how the system came into being. The *heratu* is a synony-

3: Reay E-4, 5 (1951) 1953 OJ23 Orokaiva OJ23

headdresses. At the conclusion of the initiation, some of the initiates are presented with the *otohu* ornaments. (Formerly, it was always a distinguished warrior who presented these.) The initiates then fast for a day and a night. That night, there is sexual licence for the senior villagers, a temporary lifting of tabus on incest and adultery, but the initiates themselves are not permitted to participate.

In interpreting the initiation ceremonies of the Orokaiva, Chinnery and Beaver state that " the idea . . . seems to be to instil absolute and lasting terror into the candidates, and to make them think that their elders have beaten off the spirits ; while in this receptive and chastened frame of mind, the lads, imbued with the idea of the power of the men, will pay attention to the instruction given. There appears to be an idea that the spirits of the dead are present, and that the initiated, *i.e.* the living, are keeping them away from the candidates."[6]

Amongst the living, the initiation ritual juxtaposes the two groups, initiated and uninitiated, the one group terrified and utterly helpless, and the other well able to deal with the *embahi* spirits and drive away danger. Thus the respect for seniority, which is informally learned during childhood, is finally established.

An Erikson-type psychoanalytic interpretation would doubtless find in the *embahi's* threat to devour the boys, with the menacing reiteration " Bite, bite, bite ! " a dramatization of the *meni orosati's* guilt at biting the mother. I have not enough data to confirm or deny the admissibility of such an interpretation.

Above all, initiation involves the explicit instruction of the boys in the *otohu* virtues. This instruction takes place during their period of seclusion in the *oro*. Later, when *otohu* ornaments are given to some of them, they are again exhorted in detail to practise these virtues. The possession of an *otohu* imposes a social obligation on the wearer to " live up to it," and the prestige associated with this ornament indubitably ensures that a large number of people do in fact approximate to the ideal *otohu* patterns of behaviour.

(3) Sanctions

In Orokaiva society, sanctions operate diffusely and need no specific person's direction to put them into effect. The *embo kiti*, whom F. E. Williams called a " clan headman," but who is really more of a village headman whose position is hereditary within a certain lineage of the clan, has a limited authority which is backed by no sanctions. He has no power to reward or punish, except by making obvious his approval or disapproval of various lines of action. In fact, there is no rewarding and punishing authority at all.

Retaliation seems to have been the commonest sanction in former times, in the form of direct violence or the more subtle method of sorcery.[7] Retaliation by sorcery may still be practised ; I have no information on this point. Certainly deaths are still attributed to sorcery. When (during 1950) several people from the same village

[6] E. W. P. Chinnery and W. N. Beaver, in *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, Vol. XLV, 1915.

[7] F. E. Williams, *Orokaiva Society*, pp. 327–329.